

A  
DEFENCE  
OF THE  
CONSTITUTION of ENGLAND.

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W. B. L. 1844

DEBENCE

OF THE

CONSTITUTION OF ENGLAND

[RECEIVED 1844]



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DEFENCE

OF THE

CONSTITUTION OF ENGLAND

AGAINST THE

LIBELS

THAT HAVE BEEN LATELY PUBLISHED ON IT;

PARTICULARLY IN

PAINE'S PAMPHLET

ON THE

RIGHTS OF MAN.

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Audi alteram partem.

Hear the other side, good People of England.

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DEFENCE

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## INTRODUCTION.

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**T**HE present period is big with events; some say of a disastrous, some say of an happy nature. Perhaps a good deal may depend on the use made of the Liberty of the Press—as people are accustomed to think and act according as they are taught by those publications with which the country swarms!

Since the conclusion of the American War, a leaven of sedition has been in fermentation in all Europe, and particularly in England and France. The Government of the latter, already tottering, has been overturned by it. The Government of England is attacked by the same means; for it is to be observed, that before the Revolution, the Press of France usurped a free-



dom, and published numerous pamphlets on the *Rights of Man*, which were circulated and read with great eagerness.

And the same mischief is now attempted in England, by the same means.

It is to be lamented, that a furious zealot, with more imagination than judgement, and with more concern for his trade as an orator than for the interest of the country, has given occasion to these designing apostles of sedition, to poison the ears of the people, which are now open to every rumor, that promises a general confusion and scramble, in which all orders, ranks, and properties, are to be confounded, and where force and violence alone will prevail.

The most formidable and mischievous of these, are the author of *Lessons to a Young Prince*; and the American Spy, *Mr. Thomas Paine*.

Whether or not the public suspicion hath fallen on the author of the *Lessons*, is not of consequence; he seems to regard his safety, and has settled the price of it with his publisher. He has also guarded that publisher by the art of his composition and stile.

It



It was the design of the author of the present work, particularly and elaborately to consider the Lessons, as they are an insidious and elaborate work ; but he has dropped it for the present, and will only observe, the writer covers his designs with the affectation of instructing the Prince, and throws dust in the eyes of the Public, by touching on his imprudence, and sketching with fine satire the characters of those who mislead him.

This is prepossessing his readers in his favour ; this is gilding the dangerous cup ; or it is preparing a pleasant vehicle to convey his poison.

Under a pretence that all things are running to ruin in all Europe, he *lessons* the Prince to look at home ; but he takes care, he shall look through the glasses he has coloured for him.

The English, he says, had a glorious Constitution in the days of Alfred : and it must be confessed, he gives the description of it, not only with probability, but the appearance of science and truth. But this is a repetition of the art of Chatterton, who wished to stamp his own inventions with instant

immortality, by ascribing them to Rowley. And the effect has been the same, for the wonder of fools has been excited ; the book hath rapidly sold, and every man who believes in the legend is ready for sedition, in behalf, not of the speculative *Rights of Man*, but the *just inheritance of Englishmen* from the days of the immortal Alfred.

This Constitution was destroyed by William the Conqueror, and an arbitrary Government put in its place.

At the Revolution in 1688, he asserts, that instead of restoring the Constitution, a fabric was constructed, for the King, the Nobility, the Clergy, and the landed Gentry, who make a *Market* of the House of Commons.

So that the Constitution, the boast of Englishmen, the envy of Europe, the model on which the Americans and French have practised their skill—is a phantom, a non-entity, an imposition. Nay, he positively and repeatedly declares, *the English have no Constitution at all*, and that what is so called, is an engine of fraud and oppression in the hands of the King and the Aristocracy.

ocracy, for their own, and not for the public advantage.

With all his art and address, he falls into a contradiction little short of a *Bull*. He advises the English to follow the example of the French in pulling an old house about their ears; and then tells them, they have no house to pull down.

To avoid the danger attending a direct libel on the King and the legislature, he crowds all his abuse of them into a devotional prayer, which he has the audacious impiety to put in the mouth of Majesty. And here, if any where, we think the cloven foot of the fiend appears; for it serves, what it has already been his purpose, to expose Government and Religion to ridicule and contempt.

Whether such attempts should be tolerated, is a question that will be considered by and by. It is now intended only to give an idea of the work and writer, by way of guarding the people against those who offer them poison, in the disguise of kindness and benevolence, and in order to trace the origin of those dogmas on which Paine declaims with the zeal and fury of  
Hugh



Hugh Peters or Thomas Bradbury. The account of the Constitutions of America by the writer of the Lessons to a Prince may be just, or they may be otherwise. It is not intended to examine them at this time. They are given *by him* only as insults to England, supposed to be in a state of degradation; and to stimulate a spirit of discontent and sedition.

The lesson on Burke's *pernicious* rhapsody has some fine irony; and as the Critical Reviewers have justly observed, it is pity it should be degraded by the peculiar opinions of the writer.

Burke is an advocate for divine indefeasible right; and for a Government by *compromises* of various aristocracies, with arbitrary power on the throne, and popery in the church.

The Writer of the Lessons is for a Government by an organised Constitution; on the idea of which he certainly has bestowed great ingenuity, learning, and pains; and his delineations of it are scientific, and his proofs expressed in brilliant and elegant language.

If



If he had confined himself to his theory, his talents would have been admired: but he has artfully mingled declamation and satire, intended to sap the foundation of the present Government: of which the author of the present strictures will take proper notice when more at leisure; at present Paine's libel calls for his more immediate attention.

Without the genius, or learning, or knowledge of the author of the Lessons, he may do more mischief. For instead of bestowing pains on the examination of principles, he borrows them ready made from the other, and from the French philosophers, and forms them into the materials of a lampoon; the scurrility of which against all ranks and all Government is *treasonable*, and the language of which being throughout low and Billingsgate, is calculated for the comprehension and malignity of the common people.

This seems a sufficient reason for putting the last first; because the pamphlet of Paine, though containing *no food for the mind*, has *fuel for the passions*; and though its effect will pass away in a few months, yet in that time, it may stimulate ignorance,  
for

for which it is calculated, to sedition and mischief.

It may be proper the reader should know, that Mr. Thomas Paine, from having been a Secretary to the American Congress during the Rebellion, when no man would have been its Secretary who could have procured a maintenance otherwise—is advanced to the honorable office of an *American Crimp*: the *honorable* employment of which, is to steal inventions, and to decoy artists from Europe to America on plausible and false pretences.—This office was first executed by Franklin, while employed in agencies, and he had many pupils in his school. John the Painter was hanged, for attempting to set fire to the Dock-yard; but Doctor Bancroft, Thomas Paine, &c. &c. who filled our newspapers, magazines, and reviews, with seditious paragraphs and articles, were only obliged to have recourse to temporary absence and flight: and by blending themselves with the dissenters, and letting out their literary labours for moderate prices, they retained their footing in England, and threw their poison into those streams which meandered through the land.

If

If America is a free country; if it is the land flowing with milk and honey, why are Bancroft, Paine, and many other Americans lurking in this country?

When John the Painter recognized his friend Bancroft at the Salopian Coffee-house, Bancroft took to his heels; formally resigned his office of lampooning this country in the Monthly Review, and in several newspapers, and sought his safety in the house of Franklin, at Passy.

When the jobs of the American war terminated in a shameful compromise, a sort of embassy was appointed, and a project was conceived to raise America suddenly by the repeal of our act of navigation.

When the infernal treachery was defeated by the sagacity of Lord Hawkesbury, Congress dropped all idea of open negotiation; and substituted that of private treachery. All envoys and ambassadors were withdrawn; and the country was infested with *crimps* and *spies*. Mr. Thomas Paine holds a distinguished rank in this infamous fraternity; and his business in this country is to take instructions from Bancroft, and others who reside here in equivocal capacities, how to se-



duce artizans, to convey tools, and to export articles to America, which are to be paid for at the day of judgement.

The Israelites, when they quitted Egypt, made free with the property of the inhabitants: the Americans are modern Israelites, and whatever they can obtain from England by artifice or fraud, is an offering to the Lord of sweet-smelling savour; and Paine is one of the priests by which it is offered.

When the reader has understood who this Paine is, what his views are, and the origin of his principles and maxims, from a philosophy, he neither respects nor *understands*, he will be prepared to consider the first section of this work.

SEC.



## SECTION I.

*The English possess a Constitution.*

THE first assertion of this kind has been made by the author of the *Lessons to a Young Prince*; at least, the present writer knows of none prior: but he has made it a subject of historical and scientific disquisition. Payne is neither a man of science, nor is he much acquainted with history. He borrows the idea from his master, and lowers it by his language to the level of the vulgar. Thus are the dissertations of Don Quixote rendered pernicious to the peasantry by the commentaries of Sancho Panza; but the system of both is ill founded and extravagant.

It may easily be perceived, that Paine does not know the meaning of the word *Constitution*; and that he ventures his assertions on the credit of the *Philosophers* of

England and France; for no man will suspect Payne himself of philosophy.

Q. What is a Constitution?

A. A system of fundamental laws, appointing the offices of the government of a country.

Q. Who have a right of forming these laws?

This must be answered by another question—Who *can* form them?

Can the common people? No.

Have they ever formed them? No.

On what ground is the right attributed to the people? On none, either of reason or history. But of this more use will be made in a future answer to the *self-appointed* instructor of the prince.

It is now only intended to blunt the pernicious effects of the frothy libel of the day.

That the English have a system of fundamental laws, describing the offices of government, is a fact capable of demonstration.

The King, at his coronation, answers *conditional* questions, and takes a *prescribed* oath.

The House of Lords is formed by *fixed* rules;

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rules; and its powers and privileges are defined by such laws as are not variable.

The House of Commons is filled by a popular election, which, though perhaps subject to objections and abuses, is, however, according to *fundamental* regulations, which are parts of the *constitution*.

The Great Charter; the Bill of Rights; the Habeas Corpus Act; the Trial by Jury &c. &c. are durable and fixed parts, which have been occasionally added to this building, which a *speculative philosophy* is now affecting to call a phantom and a non-entity.

Mr. Thomas Paine hath more prudence than to trust to this philosophy in the execution of his American errands: but it costs an American Saint little to aver a *falsehood*, and he will forgive his masters for misleading him.

To render this truth as plain, as the lampoon of Paine; let us take his method, and compare our Constitution with that of France, which he acknowledges to be such.

The King of France always hath, and probably ever will, take an oath at his Coronation.

The



The fundamental laws, which are to remain as component parts of the Constitution, are passed with his *concession* and *consent*; in the manner of the Great Charter in England, the Bill of Rights, and the Habeas Corpus Act.

The legislature, like our House of Commons, is by election; and the manner of that election is in both countries a fundamental law, and a part of the *Constitution*.

What advantage may be supposed in one manner of election over another, is not the present question; which is merely on the existence of *any* Constitution in England; which Mr. Thomas Paine hath positively denied, on the authority of philosophers which he probably doth not understand; and with a disregard to truth, which would dishonor any but his own character and employment.



## SECTION II.

*That the Kings of England are not elective.*

IN rescuing Dr. Price from the fangs of Mr. Burke, Mr. Thomas Paine condescends to give an opinion of him, by saying he is good hearted. In Paine's estimation, there is but one sensible man in the world; and that is himself; and though he borrows in every page of his pamphlet, he would insinuate, that he owes all to his own genius; he pretends he never reads, and he never acknowledges his obligations.

He is, however, only a commentator on the doctrines of Dr. Price, when he pours his scurrility on the Royal Family.

It is not intended to take Mr. Thomas Paine into the ancient British and Saxon annals; for it would be taking him out of his way, and might require the accomplishments of a scholar; of which he hath none. It may be sufficient to declare, that the  
Crown

Crown was hereditary in the British and Saxon dynasties; and that the inheritance was not interrupted, except in times of extreme necessity and violence.

The descent of the Houses which have lately occupied the English Throne, has been from William the Conqueror: and it offends the delicacy of Mr. Thomas Paine, that William should have been reputed a *Bastard*.

America during its connection with England, was the sink into which it poured all its filth. The convicts who were not immediately executed, were transported into that country; and the fair race of *patriots* and *saints* may be generally traced to *transported thieves*; is this circumstance imagined to affect the character or inheritance of any American of the present day? Why should it be reproachful to a King of England to descend from the illegitimate branch of a *Sovereign* House; and not infamous in a President of the American Congress, to be descended from an English transported *Thief*?

As this circumstance, does not render the *inheritance* of the Royal Family questionable

tionable, the settlement at the Revolution in 1688 may be considered—Mr. Thomas Paine arraigns that event with his usual modesty.

It might be made a question, of what concern the origin and principles of our Government can be to an American *Crimp*. But allowing that in the intervals of his *honorable* employment his benevolence may urge him to contrive and devise for our welfare, his opinions may be weighed and examined.

He says, that the Convention at the Revolution had some proper powers, and *assumed* others to which they had no right. The meaning of which is, that whatever regulations of the Convention suit the inclinations of Mr. Thomas Paine, he pronounces to be according to *legitimate* powers; and whatever are disagreeable to this *great* man, he condemns as proceeding from *assumed* powers.

Now as the public will had no organ but the Convention; and as the public approbation is expressed only by general *acquiescence*; it is difficult to imagine an event more popular, and better calculated to be



the foundation of a free Government, than the Revolution.

It is true the Convention had nothing in commission from the people, who were even not in a condition to furnish instructions. King James had violated the *terms* of the inheritance; and to prevent the total ruin of the Country, the Prince of Orange (a Dutchman, not the descendant of a transported *Convict* to America) a Prince of great renown, and married to the eldest daughter of the infatuated King, was invited by the principal families of the kingdom to assist in its settlement.

Violent diseases require violent remedies; the inheritance of the Crown was necessarily interrupted. It had been rendered hereditary, with the public *acquiescence* of many centuries, which may be called public *approbation*; and for the best reasons, as it prevented competition and civil war on the election and appointment of every new king.

But as the means are not superior to the end; and as the end of every political institution is the public security or public happiness—where the fundamental law of hereditary

hereditary right became dangerous to the whole State, and menaced the public happiness—the greater reason prevailed over the lesser, and the *right of the inheritance* was turned into a collateral channel, to preserve the nation from despotism and ruin.

The Convention, however, after having submitted to this necessity, and selected that branch of the Royal Family most likely to coincide with the public will, renewed a *declaration of the fundamental law*, which they (not having the new light of Mr. Thomas Paine) considered as part of the *English Constitution*, and they annexed the penalties of *treason*, &c. to any attempt to interrupt or dispute the right of inheritance in the Royal Family.

This displeases the quondam Secretary to the American Congress, whom they have degraded into a much less honorable employment.

As he pines at the prosperity of England, which has not been blasted by the numerous prophecies and prayers of him and his countrymen, since the termination of the American War, he regrets the settlement of the Crown in peaceable succession, and wishes

us involved in the frequent miseries of an elective monarchy.

How such a being can suppose that his wishes can procure him any thing but lodgings with his old friend Lord George Gordon—would be wonderful, if his vanity were not equal to his folly.

His pamphlet called *Common Sense* came out, just as America was ripe for the declaration of independence: and he has ever since had the folly to imagine and to say, that his pamphlet was the *occasion* of the declaration.

He sagaciously supposes, that he now sees the *signs of the times* in England; and has the great modesty to expect that his pamphlet here will delude the common people, produce confusion, and occasion a Revolution. It would be difficult to find in Bedlam a madman that would conceive and utter such folly.

But it is very extraordinary that Mr. Thomas Paine should be *gifted* and *inspired* only in political matters. He has been long traversing this Country, endeavouring to learn its inventions; and the mode of constructing a bridge over one of the rivers of Philadelphia,



ladelphia, which has hitherto baffled the talents of all his Country, he hopes to convey to it. But though he is not an apt scholar in the mechanic inventions, according to the most favourable reports even of his friends the dissenters, he is ready to pull our political house about our ears, and to direct us to produce another by enchantment.

And the first blessings he would bestow on us, is an elective Crown ; as he considers the act of settlement as the effect of assumed powers.

Pray, Mr. Thomas Paine, what powers are those, by which the National Assembly of France form their present Constitution, which is *honored* with *your* approbation ?

They met with express instructions to assist the King in rectifying abuses and removing certain and specified grievances. Instead of adhering to their commission, they have wholly overlooked it ; they pulled down the whole of the ancient Government and they are erecting one totally new. As they had no powers from the people for these purposes, they have acted by *assumed* powers, and are justly under the imputation  
with

with which Mr. Thomas Paine would reproach the Convention in 1688.

It is possible that the measures of the National Assembly of France may be sanctioned by the public *acquiescence*, and it is certain those of the Convention Parliament have been by the acquiescence and *approbation* of England for a century. The provisions and acts of our Revolution are therefore as justifiable and as worthy of being pronounced *constitutional*, as those of the National Assembly of France, and this even with Mr. Thomas Paine, ought to be sufficient authority for ranking the act of settlement among the permanent parts of the English Constitution.

## S E C T.

## SECTION III.

*That the English House of Lords is not a Nuisance.*

THE principal object of the spleen and malice of the levellers, from the fifth monarchy-men down to the reformers of the present day, is the order of Nobility, and the honors and privileges of the House of Lords; and there are no people more malignant in their aspersions on nobility than the Americans; and for a very good reason, which has been hinted above, and which shall be explained by a true story.

One of the most successful of the American adventurers had resided in several parts for the sake of making advantages by the several situations. He quitted Boston with a little money, and a good deal of Massachusetts hypocrisy and perfidy; and settled southward, where several lucky strokes in the practice of smuggling in the Spanish Settlements,



lements, furnished him with a large fortune. He then turned his thoughts to England; but his recommendation from the saints being to the Old Jewry, Little Jewry Lane, and St. Mary Axe, his family found, they were only exchanging one scene of perfidious cant and designing hypocrisy for another; and they with great difficulty prevailed on the old sanctified smuggler to remove to the west-end of the Town.

In the City, their coach had only a cypher after the fashion of the Quakers; but it was now necessary to have arms; and how to have them, was a difficulty which they did not know how to get over. The late Mr. Edmonson was applied to; and on hearing the name, he advised them either to venture on the Arms of a family of the same name, or to trace back their own with the hopes of finding out the relationship. If this had been explained to the old man, he would immediately have put an end to the inquiry; but the son pursued it with eagerness, until he brought it to Newgate, where the founder of the American house had been under sentence of death, and had  
been

been sent on his travels to America by the King's Pardon.

This being a common origin of American families who possess wealth, it prevents the common ambition of families, which is as useful as it is natural.

That it is natural, the history of all ages and nations clearly prove, even the early parts of the history of the Bible represent mankind as immediately clustering into families; some deservedly and honorably distinguished, and some reprobated and degraded.

By this means, the principle of honor is added to the force of the laws; and it has ever been found a purer source of virtue and of noble actions, than any thing that could be furnished by the fear of the punishments inflicted by the laws.

A difference was made, soon after the creation, between the families of Abel and Cain; and education added its assistance: the difference of those families may continue at this day. The tribes among the Jews; the orders and classes in all the nations of the East, derive their origin from this natural and wise propensity to honor good, and to

dishonor bad actions, and to furnish a motive from honor to particular families to distinguish themselves for virtues, which would not probably be produced by the punishments of the laws.

This policy hath prevailed all over the world, and will probably prevail, with the exception of countries so circumstanced as America, where the people *must forget their ancestors*. The future Colonies of Botany Bay will follow their example; they will have no escutcheons or armorial bearings, they will be Republicans and Levellers of the most determined nature; and their future Spies, Crimps, and Assassins, will tread exactly in the steps of those which have been sent here from America, to set fire to our docks, to disseminate sedition, to disturb our peace, and to introduce that confusion of which their Country would endeavour to profit.

That the appointment of honors and rewards is a better motive to virtue than the fear of punishment is an acknowledged truth; and on this truth, the utility of an order of Nobility is founded.

Dis-



Distinctions and honors affecting the mind and imagination are wisely substituted for pecuniary rewards, as being less expensive to the State.

In Greece and Rome, actions of great public service were rewarded with crowns, the privilege of wearing rings, and at a certain age, admission into the public councils. The virtues thus rewarded, became the care and study of the families so distinguished: and the utility of the policy was great and unquestionable.

In modern times, the modes of distinction and of conferring honors have been various, but the principle and the views of usefulness are the same.

Among the late provisions of this kind, the English House of Lords is the most respectable and the most honorable: it is the *Temple of Honor* for the most splendid talents in legislation and prudence, in eloquence and legal ingenuity; for the valor of our Admirals and Generals; and for the learning of the most distinguished of our Clergy.

To prove that it enlivens ambition, and

stimulates industry, is to prove that fire warms, or the sun shines.

That an ancient and venerable Institution hath been neglected, that abuses have crept into it, and that these abuses, and not the Institution, are the subjects of cavil to such miserable *Witlings* as Mr. Thomas Paine, is not an uncommon fate.

To render honors and rewards motives of education in the families which are honored and rewarded, the original provisions of the Institution should have been strictly preserved.

The King, who is the fountain of honors, not only conferred them, but he was ever after considered as the Guardian of the ennobled Family; accordingly, nothing could affect that Family without his knowledge; and he was supposed particularly interested in its marriages and alliances. The contamination of family principles by improper marriage was called the contamination of blood, and this idea being taken literally and ridiculed, the royal superintendence has been suspended, and the principal purpose of Nobility lost to the world.

One

One of our Nobility at this time is married to a woman who was many years what they call a soldier's Trull, and followed the camp *in publicum usum*. She crept by degrees to the bed of an officer, and at last arrived at her present station; the consequences are too obvious to be particularly insisted upon. The family will be infested for generations with the low and abominable vices, which are transmitted from such a wretch to her unfortunate children; and through them to future ages. In this, and such cases, the privileges of Nobility are not only lost, but turned against the public interest, and by being made the nurseries of vice instead of those of virtue, they are justly subjected to censure and indignation.

This observation may be extended to those depraved Nobility who marry the cast-off mistresses of ministers. All these evils are owing to the renunciation of wardship, to which Charles II. submitted, in order to raise a little money—and if it is not resumed, the indiscretion, and degradations of the Nobility will defeat the purpose of their first institution, and sink them within the reach



reach of the Billingsgate reproaches of Paine.

The political use of the House of Lords, as a balance in the Constitution; as a Court in dernier resort; and as giving judgement on State offenders—will be considered by the author when he comes to remark on a work of more lasting, and therefore of more pernicious influence than any that can be written by Paine. Considerations of this kind would be above Paine's capacity, and that of his admirers. Paine writes to the vulgar, to the mob; and the author must meet him on vulgar ground.

S E C T-

## SECTION IV.

*That the House of Commons is a Representation of the People.*

TO become members of a society ; and in a free society to have the capacity of chusing representatives, some bond to the country is necessary ; some circumstance which may attach the inhabitant to the country, and which may give him an interest in it. This is generally that of being a fixed householder, or a proprietor of land. Those who can give no such proofs of attachment and interest, are justly considered as destined to servility, as vagabonds, and unfit to be ranked among citizens.

In England, this qualification is forty shillings a year. In France, even after a revolution and reformation on a plan approved by the *great* Mr. Paine, the qualification is not much less ; for it is estimated by the  
con-

contribution to Government ; in England, it is estimated by the yearly income.

. So that every man in England, possessing solid and fixed, which is landed property, to the value of forty shillings a year, is a citizen, a constituent, and, in the language of the fashionable philosophy, a member of the sovereignty of a free state.

This, one would think, is laying the foundation of liberty sufficiently broad, and Englishmen with such a privilege, which is so extensively diffused, might scorn the attempts of American Vagabonds or American Spies, to brand them with the imputation and the reproach of slavery.

It is true, monied and mercantile interests and properties have been created, which have no privilege of representation ; and better reasoners than Mr. Thomas Paine, have decided that they are too uncertain and changeable for representations.

The rotten boroughs are also blemishes *in appearance*, if not in fact ; some of them are only in appearance : for if the art of sending representatives perfectly independent is the most desirable effect of election, the rotten boroughs produce it with more

cer-



certainly than any county in England. A gentleman who buys his seat is certainly independent ; and of what county-member may that be truly affirmed ? Let the rotten boroughs be removed in God's name, and the representation of England will be nearly the same with that of France : and if we take France for a model, it is to be hoped Mr. Thomas Paine will do us the honor to be content with us.

Mr. Thomas Paine's masters, the modern philosophers of France and England, go farther than he has abilities or knowledge to follow. They talk of organization, and forming a moral and political body ; and producing public will, &c. &c.—all these things shall be considered at leisure. Paine's pamphlet is a *cracker* to rouse and alarm fools ; and when it has gone off in smoke, it leaves not a trace on the mind or the memory.

The design of this hasty answer is to prevent the effect of immediate surprize on weak minds ; and to bespeak their attention to the discussions and measures of reasonable men, even those who advance the prin-

ciples which are adopted by Paine, but who advance them like Scholars and Gentlemen.

Attempts have been made to remedy the defects in the representation of the people; and the subject very probably is not yet given up.

Perhaps the attempts would have been successful, if they had not been used to serve the views of disaffected parties, who wished to harrafs the administration of the day out of the offices they wanted to enjoy.

While the nation was thrown into a fermentation, pamphlets appeared denying the power of Parliament to reform itself—whose titles the author of this work has forgot, but whose contents have not been forgot by Paine; for he has borrowed plentifully of those contents, and with his usual American gratitude, which unthankfully converts all it can purloin into its own property.

In this confusion of opinions, it was difficult to chuse any opinion; nor did the choice seem very necessary. For though the heads of the selfish parties, particularly those in opposition to Government, assembled

bled their friends and formed associations through the greatest part of the kingdom; the great body of the people of England beheld the whole bustle with indifference and unconcern; and that indifference was very properly considered by the existing Government, as a proof of their content under the present method of representation.

To insure the remedy for us when it is wanted, a society was formed with the modest name of Constitutional, where such heads as those of Brand Hollis, John Forest, Watkin Lewes, Brass Crosby, and James Martin, are held up in the presidentship as those of the puppets in the street puppet-shows by some such designing impostors as Horne Tooke and Thomas Paine.

While honest but foolish men are thus instigated, the country can never be at peace; and this is the very end and purpose of all American Crimps: for America is then contrasted with England, and artisans are seduced to emigrate to their ruin.

This vain and silly society, of which Paine is a member, has thanked Paine for his pamphlet, as a proper instrument or fire-brand of sedition: i. e. Paine, by means



of Horne Tooke, has thanked *himself*. He would not have been at the trouble, if he had known that the opinion of this body would damn the sale of his pamphlet; and even this combination of stupidity would not have been duped by Paine and Tooke into the folly, if they had known that in France Paine lampoons them as using the name *Constitutional*, and at the same time distributing parts of pamphlets which assert the *English have no Constitution*.

To complete the folly, he should procure John Horne Tooke, with whose views of sedition and mischief he so heartily accords, to manage a vote of thanks from the Revolution Society: for though Paine execrates the Revolution, his intentions and those of the Revolution Society are the same. John Horne Tooke used to instigate a weak man, Major Cartwright, to do the deeds of danger and mischief for him, by extolling his pamphlets, which are mere trash, *as the best books ever written in any language*: he will clap Paine on the back in the same manner. But Horne has to do with an American, whose essence is deceit and perfidiousness. Paine will issue the brands of  
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sedition, but he will not stand the danger of them. Paine has no country and known place of residence : none but the devil could seize him and bring him to the punishment due to his crimes. John Horne Tooke wants to bring Paine to the pillory ; to occasion a tumult, at the head of which he would put himself, and push the mischief into the most abominable cruelties. But Paine fights shy ; he swallows all the praises and compliments of the quondam priest : but if any ears are nailed to the pillory, it will be the ears of some poor devil of a printer, which Paine will leave in the lurch. Paine attended the American army too long, not to know the advantage of changing positions, and leaving the enemy at a loss to guess at their lodgements and situations.

Parliament therefore will not be reformed, by the opportunity given by a tumult to Horne Tooke to hang the Members that have offended him at the lamp-irons.

Parliament will not be reformed at the request or impudent reproaches of American *crimps* and *spies*, who want to throw every thing into confusion, that they may delude our manufacturers, in great numbers,  
into

into the woods and the miseries of their American paradise.

Parliament will not be reformed at the command of self-appointed societies of reformers, whether revolution or constitutional; the major parts of which are Presbyterians disaffected to the Constitution in Church and State.

Parliament will not be reformed to serve the purposes of an Opposition to possess the places of Ministers.

The defects and errors introduced by age, the wear and tear of our admirable Constitution, will be repaired; when they are perceived by all the people of England; and when the people require it in orderly and general petitions, every thing will be granted, or rather every thing will be done.

S E C.



## SECTION V.

*The Church of England is not intolerant.*

THE reader will perceive that more pains have been bestowed on this section, than could be designed for any thing intended against the rhapsody of Mr. Thomas Paine.

Other and superior writers, which the imprudence of Mr. Burke had drawn out, had advanced arguments on the subject which called for refutation ; and this section was originally intended as a part of an answer to another work.

Mr. Paine plumes himself on having given a new turn to the question of toleration, by considering it as a business between Government and the Deity, and not between Government and the People. This is in itself blasphemous, and it will not at all apply to the church of England ; which never interferes with private conscience, or  
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the mode by which individuals worship God; but only ordains that there shall be a national religion decently supported; and that those clergymen who are employed by the state shall profess one uniform doctrine.

The reasons of this policy are so numerous, and have been so often repeated, that they would here appear impertinent—and indeed the advocates for universal toleration have long quitted the field of argument for the enumerations of example and authority; and they advance those of Prussia, Holland, and America: but they forget, that in Prussia and in Holland there are established religions; and that the religions not established are only tolerated there in the same manner as the dissenters are tolerated here.

In America there would have been an established religion if the Quakers had not been the leading sect; and if in forming the federal union, it had been practicable to set one sect above the other, without endangering the union.

In France, which is now offered as our model, the Roman Catholic religion is *established*, and though it is decreed by the National

National Assembly that no man is to be molested for his opinions ; yet no priests are to be *paid* by the public, but those professing the national religion.

The hardships complained of here by the Dissenters, will therefore remain, *i. e.* they will be obliged to contribute towards the support of a religion and a priesthood, of which they do not approve ; and their ministers *i. e.* the ministers of those who dissent from the national religion, will not partake in the funds set apart by the Government for religious uses.

It seems the Dissenters of France are to be admitted into office : and it is averred with great probability, that the late petitions of the Dissenters of England for the same privilege would have been granted, if the Dissenters themselves had not betrayed farther views ; if they had not indecently tampered with and menaced candidates for the approaching Parliament.

Their views were said to be, to have a place of education under their guidance, incorporated and made into an university ; and to have the power of conferring degrees &c. &c.—because the academical honors



now purchased for their ministers at the decayed Scottish universities, give them rank only with Quack Doctors, whose diploma's are had in the same manner, and come in the same bundles.

They also wish to have some allowance, which a few of their ministers now have from Government, enlarged to the proportion of the allowance in Ireland; or to have some portion of the tithes allotted to them.

These things shewed in time the dangerous views of sectaries, which once overturned the Church and State; and the English Parliament very wisely rejected their petition; as it led to others; and those to others without end.

But as universal toleration is a part of the creed of modern philosophy; and as modern philosophy rests its arguments on experience, and the practice of the most enlightened parts of antiquity, it may be proper to shew Mr. Thomas Paine, that the masters of his masters, the ancients; from whom the modern philosophers steal, what Paine steals from them, have no such opinions as are commonly ascribed to them.

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The Druids, who were heathen philosophers, prohibited the discussion of religious and political subjects, but by those of their own disciples who administered them.

Socrates was accused to the Senate of Athens, the true ancestors of the French and English philosophers, in these terms, “ Melytus, son of Melytus, a Parthenian, “ accuses Socrates, son of Sophroniscus, an “ Alopeian—Socrates violates the law, *not* “ *believing* the Deities which the *City be-* “ *lieveth*, but introducing new Gods, he “ violates the law likewise in corrupting “ Youth—the punishment DEATH.”

What would have become of Helvetius, Voltaire, Rousseau, David Hume, &c. &c. under the toleration of the ancients, of which they vaunt?

Concerning the statue of Minerva by Phidias, Stilpo of Megara, asked a man, whether Minerva the daughter of Jove was a God?—He answered in the affirmative. But this, said he, looking at the statue, is not of Jove, but the work of Phidias. The other assented. Then said Stilpo, she is not a God. Being called to account by the

Areopagitæ he justified it ; averring she was not a God, but a Goddess. The Areopagitæ, however, would not admit the evasion ; and he was banished the city, in the true spirit of ancient and philosophical toleration.

Aristotle was accused of impiety, for some philosophical assertions, contrary to the religion of the Athenians, that he celebrated Hermias (his brother in law) as a God, with a hymn; and caused his statue to be placed in the Delphian Temple with an honorable inscription.—Some say he appeared before the Court of the Areopagus, others that he retired to Chalcis ; and his friends asking the reason, he said, “ We left Athens, “ that the Athenians might not repeat the “ wickedness committed against Socrates, “ and be guilty of a double crime against “ philosophy.”—*Laert. and Origen.*

Notwithstanding the imprudent assertions of Voltaire and his disciples, in all early ages, not excepting the most liberal of Greece and Rome, religious sects and schisms have been deemed dangerous to civil Government, the sources of faction : they have produced private and interested combinations, and an opposition to the laws.

In



In modern times, all efforts to pull down the boundaries of ecclesiastical order have ended in the dissolution of all authority.

At this time we are imitating the spirit of refinement and of innovation which rendered the times of Charles I. so calamitous and so disgraceful. Every man is framing a model of a republic. Every man thinks himself capable of adjusting a system of religion. The *levellers* are again appearing: and if the principles now propagating could be established, an assembly of Presbyterian divines would again vote Presbytery to be of *Divine Right*.\*

It is said, the sectaries are more liberal and tolerant than formerly; but this is an error founded on the writings of a few who are actually Dissenters from the great body of Dissenters. With that body, the least of Christ's truths are superior to all worldly consideration, and a full toleration to persons of all opinions would be abominable to all true Dissenters. They retain the spirit of the old Puritans, and maintain themselves to be the only pure church, and that their principles and discipline ought to be

\* See Whitlock, page 106.

established, and that no other ought to be tolerated.

Indeed the philosophers of modern times are not agreed and unanimous in their defence of universal toleration. Voltaire wished not to be restrained himself; but he would have persecuted the Encyclopidists whom he reckoned atheists. Mr. Hume is throughout his History of England, an advocate for an ecclesiastical establishment; and delineates that as almost without fault, which was settled at the Revolution. Rousseau has many just animadversions on persecution; but he says in his dogmatic way,  
 “ Draw up a few articles of universal religion, which may be called, if you will,  
 “ the humane and social creed, and which  
 “ every person living in society may be  
 “ obliged to receive; and if any one should  
 “ speak or write against it, he should be  
 “ *banished from society*, as an enemy to its  
 “ fundamental laws.—*Rousseau's Letter to the Arch. of Paris.*

In short, reason, authority, custom, prescription, every thing but the love of novelty and of dangerous experiment—plead with us, not to listen to our treacherous advisers,

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who would persuade us to pull down the venerable fabric of our church establishment, and lay open the country to the mad inroads of Fanatics and Levellers.

It is true, there are laws against Sectaries which disgrace our Statute books ; but they are in effect obsolete. The church exercises just as much mild authority as is necessary for the preservation of public decorum. Sectaries are left at liberty in fact, though they are not so in law ; and the fear of a punishment which *might* be inflicted, restrains them from those excesses into which they otherwise would run, and which might end in the dissolution of all order and all government.

S E C-



## SECTION VI.

*Rights of Man.*

THIS at present is a cant phrase, which we have borrowed from the French, which in such hands as the Abbe Sieyes and Mirabeau, is like the golden age of Homer and Virgil, a pleasing delusion—but when reasoned upon, or applied to common life, it is of no use.

Mr. Thomas Paine, who is neither a Mirabeau nor a Virgil, deals only in coarse and imprudent assertions. It is true, he talks about Adam, intending to prove that *Adam* was equal to himself.

The Scripture is always a stalking horse for any falsehood and perfidy of an American. If Paine had faithfully followed the Scripture history, which even his friend Horne Tooke will allow to be an ancient and respectable history, he would have found, that it accounts for the inequality  
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of mankind, and immediately buries the rights of man in the obligations of society.

But before the institution of society, what is man? and what are his rights? The French and English Philosophers have instructed Mr. Thomas Paine, and he is willing to instruct the fishwomen of France and England—that they are born with certain powers which God intended and gave them a right to use. One of these is the faculty of propagation, in which man is exceeded by rabbits and cats.

Another is strength, in which he is exceeded by a lion or tyger.

Another is address and contrivance, in which probably he has no rival.

Now, if the powers conferred by God are the foundation of right—how comes it that the dominion of the earth is not in the lion? How comes it that the whole earth is not occupied by rabbits or cats?

Why? Because address and cunning prevail over the strength and faculty of propagation.

Man, at first a solitary savage, lives by practising his cunning against the strength  
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of other animals, and every moment of his life is sustained by a *violation of their rights*.

So that a declaration of the rights of dogs, cats, rabbits, sheep, bullocks, &c. &c. would have articles in it as just, and as affecting, as any that can be offered by man.

Man enters into society—why? to carry on the plan of depredation and the *violation of rights*, against the other animals, with more security and less chance of punishment.

Here superior sagacity and superior strength take place of stupidity and weakness, and give rise to a distinction of ranks, and orders, and families—and they make the *Rights of Man* to be wholly the provisions and conventions of society.

If we consult the Bible, of which Mr. Thomas Paine and Mr. Horne Tooke are very fond, when it serves any of their seditious purposes, we shall find, that a difference arose in the condition of the children of Adam from the difference of their characters.

Cain murdered Abel, and Cain and his posterity were accursed, and doomed to servitude



itude under the power of the posterity of Abel.

This with atheistic wittings is considered as a harsh measure, and they arraign the Deity on the score of it with their usual impudence and profaneness. But profaneness and impudence are the effects of ignorance.

The Eastern languages, the dictionaries and lexicons of some of which may be known to Horne Tooke; the Eastern languages express a natural and necessary effect as the ordinance of God.

Vices are *hereditary* from the necessary effects of *transmitted* constitutions, united with the *transmitted* force of customs, example, and education. Vices produce an inferiority and subjection which end in servitude and slavery. *Hereditary vices* therefore produce *hereditary slavery*; and the denunciation of Scripture is only the declaration of a fact. If America had continued its connection with Great Britain, it would not, it could not have been on terms of equality; and for the same reasons that we shall not think it required by justice or good policy, to admit the inhabitants of Bo-

tany Bay, or their descendants, to be on a footing with British subjects.

Virtues and vices have produced *inequalities* in the immediate descendants of Adam; the *rights* of the posterity of Cain, and the *rights* of the posterity of Abel, became quite *different* things; and the distinction of rulers and ruled, governors and governed, soon took place.

The first governments were patriarchal; the authority of the patriarch extended over the tribe; but the patriarch was never appointed or elected by the tribe; nor was the *constitution* of his government prepared by the deliberations and wisdom of his people.

In the government of the children of Israel under the immediate direction of God himself, all discretionary powers are given to elders, wise men and learned; never to assemblies and deputations of the people.

And when the government of God ceased, the authority was given to Kings, High Priests, Councils of Elders, &c.—and no intimations are given, that it is the will of God, that the wise and the foolish, the good and the bad, should be equal, or that  
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ignorance, folly, and vice, should *dictate* and *prescribe* the terms and manner in which they should be governed.

This claim was never made by any people of any country: it has been always made for them by ambitious men, who wished to overturn the established governments because they could not obtain the places of distinction and profit under them; and who hoped in the general confusion attending the formation of new governments, to seize on some valuable and important posts. The people in general in every country feel their incapacity for political deliberations and the management of public affairs, and they naturally look up to the great proprietors of land, and to men of education and leisure, to take these provinces to themselves. These proprietors and these persons of leisure and education, whether clergy or laity, have an interest in the study and in the honourable practice of the science of policy; and though some of them will, through ignorance and bad passions, oppress their laborious inferiors, the folly brings with it its own punishment, in the depopulation and waste or barrenness of their property.

It



It is the interest of society that employments should be divided according to the necessary differences of situation; and the *rights of men* are as different as those of situations.

The *rights of the peasantry* are to a comfortable subsistence, and the means of rearing and supporting a hardy and laborious family. All beyond this does them an injury.

The *rights of the mechanic and artist* are proper and just returns for their ingenuity; if they have more, their ingenuity is lost, for they become gentlemen without education or qualification for the duties of gentlemen.

The *rights of the proprietors of lands* are to the fruits of those lands after the maintenance of the peasantry, mechanics, artists, &c. which are employed on them.

The *rights of all* from government are protection, security, and equal justice.

These are the RIGHTS OF MAN: and as long as various talents and characters will necessarily divide men into various classes, and convert them into various uses, their rights will ever remain various,

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Profane as well as sacred history will prove the truth of this opinion. All the early and great empires of the East were monarchical; and the councils of the prince and the offices of his government and army were appointed either by him or by persons entitled by their reputed wisdom and actual education to the privilege of advising him; never by the election of the common people.

In the West and North, the forms of government have been almost innumerable, but they have never proceeded from the rights and claims and deliberations of the common people. They have proceeded from some source of wisdom and prudence, real or pretended; never from necessary and acknowledged ignorance and folly.

The phantasies of the Greeks produced many efforts at republicanism; but they never succeeded. The government of Athens was sometimes by the mob of the city; sometimes by the heads of tribes; sometimes by the commanders of armies; but never by the common people of Attica.

The government of Sparta was a violent and cruel aristocracy.

Rome,

Rome, which added the philosophy of Greece to its own stock, was governed by a senate and its clients, the inhabitants of the city, who sometimes got the better of their masters: but it never entered the brain of the wildest projector of Rome, to include all the people of the provinces in the deliberations and actions of its government.

This extravagance was reserved for modern times; and it is one of the *novelties* by which modern philosophers and their attendant adventurers want to smoothen their way to rank and power.

The colonies of America were planted, and the forms of their governments prescribed, by the will of the King and Council of England: and yet America has justified its rebellion; and it asserts its present claims to liberty from pretences founded on *the Rights of Man*.

In France, the same philosophical cant is made use of to lull the people into acquiescence, until the property and power of the nobles and ecclesiastics have passed into the hands of new people, the literati, the philosophers, &c. then it will be seen that the rights of the peasantry, of mechanics, and  
of



of all ranks, are just as they have been defined above, and that the country has endured the alarms and injuries of a revolution only to change masters.

### Conclusion

It has been the intention of the former sections to represent things as they are. The invectives of Mr. Burke against the Revolution in France, are as liberal, unjust, and impertinent, as the invectives of Mr. Paine against the Revolution in England.

There is this difference, however; Mr. Burke wishes to prevent the evils of anarchy from reaching this island, and Mr. Paine wishes to introduce them.

To prevent the evils, Mr. Burke overcharges the description of them; and to introduce them, Mr. Paine, Mr. Horne Tooke, Mr. Paine, and other champions of sedition,

have endeavoured to cover them with a veil of mystery. Mr. Burke extols the British Constitution as something perfect.

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## SECTION VII.

*Conclusion.*

IT has been the intention of the former Sections, to represent *things as they are*. The invectives of Mr. Burke against the Revolution in France, are as illiberal, unjust, and impertinent, as the invectives of Mr. Paine against the Revolution in England.

There is this difference, however ; Mr. Burke wishes to prevent the evils of anarchy from reaching this island, and Mr. Paine wishes to introduce them.

To prevent the evils, Mr. Burke overcharges the description of them ; and to introduce them, Dr. Price, Mr. Horne Tooke, Mr. Paine, and other firebrands of sedition, disguise and cover them.

With the same view Mr. Burke extols the English Constitution as something supernatural-

natural; and though our internal enemies are agreed in their object to introduce confusion under the name of reformation, yet they differ in the things to be reformed. Dr. Price, Horne Tooke, and the Revolution Society, profess the principles of the Revolution as their creed; they represent the vessel of the state, as sound in its principal timbers, but having some dangerous leaks. The author of the *Lessons to a Prince*, by diagrams as treasonable as they are false, distinguishes between our constitution and our government, and pretends to demonstrate, *we have no Constitution at all*. Paine repeats the assertion without argument and without proof; unless by proving that our Constitution is not exactly like that of France, he would have us conclude we have no Constitution at all.

It is clearly proved in the foregoing sections, that we are in possession of a Constitution; which, though not so sacred and supernatural as that which is presented by Burke, is not in a state to want the tinkering hands of Richard Price, John Horne Tooke, Joseph Priestley, and the disaffected sectaries; and it is not a phantom, a non-



entity, as asserted by the self-appointed instructor of the Prince, and the *philanthropic* American Crimp.

Will the PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, therefore, so far forget their character of sobriety and good sense, as to suffer themselves to be misled to a precipice from which they cannot retreat?

Will they throw away a blessing, which has long been the admiration of the world; which the profound Montesquieu and the learned Blackstone have so nobly explained, on the credit of Atheists and madmen?

The projects of new governments which are now floating in the brains of visionaries, are principally owing to the reveries of Plato, David Hume, and of John James Rousseau, and the disciples are as unprincipled and as mad as their masters. Are we therefore to leave the blessings we enjoy, and *to fly to evils that we know not of*, on the suggestions and opinions of such men? Where are their pledges from their property or possessions in the country? If some of them may be supposed to have an interest in England; this is not the case of the writer more immediately under consideration:

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for the patriotism of Thomas Paine is exactly of the same description with that of John the Painter.

In a matter of so much magnitude, as a change of your civil constitution, take advice, O Britons ! of your *Reason* ; and not of those passions, which are roused by low invectives and malignant lampoons. Examine well the ancient structure which has so long and so comfortably sheltered you, and do not demolish it rashly. If time and the wickedness of some of your governors have occasioned some dilapidations, the injuries may be soberly and deliberately remedied, without endangering the whole.

If the House of Lords is not guarded with proper dignity, represent the abuses soberly and firmly, and they will be redressed.

If the Bishops are more men of the world than men of God ; if they arrive at their dignities by mean and unworthy intrigues, and if they discharge their duties negligently : if the property of the church is unworthily and shamefully divided ; and if religion suffers by the misconduct of one part, and the sufferings of the other part of its ministers—be loud and frequent, but be sober

sober and decent, in your expostulations on this subject, and you will undoubtedly be heard.

If you think more of you should partake in the right of electing Members of Parliament, prevail with populous towns, such as Birmingham and Manchester, to petition for the right, and it will no doubt be granted. If abuses have crept into elections, or into the proceedings of the House of Commons—let them be openly and fairly represented, and not mixed with the slander and calumnies of spies, and they will probably be removed.

Whatever may be supposed an occasion of grievance, you have a legal and orderly method of obtaining redress, without taking the advice of Libellers. They seek only mischief to your country, in order to serve another. When anarchy and misery have taught you reason, and you have distinguished between your friends and your foes, it will be too late to save or to serve you.

That the most mischievous purposes of sedition are not attributed without reason to the reformers of the present day, and their  
libellous



libellous instruments, will be very evident to all the thinking inhabitants of this country, if they recollect the private and public proceedings of the religious and civil sectaries for the last ten years.

The Dissenters have allied themselves to all disaffected parties, to weaken the hands of the existing Government. They assisted in demolishing the *Coalition*, more from the love of demolishing power, than from patriotism ; for the present Administration had not been in office many months before it experienced their ill offices. In all national questions they interfere with hostility, while their divines abuse the liberty of the press in the most shameful manner, by constantly and indecently assaulting the doctrines and discipline of the established church. Nay, they proceed to maim and mutilate the holy Scriptures, and blaspheme the dignity and divine character of their Saviour, and yet impudently maintain they are the only true and genuine Christians ; that they ought not only to be tolerated, but to be countenanced and established.

In the disputes of parties, they are always ready to assist the most dangerous and  
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the most mischievous. And when the revolution in France took place, instead of waiting decently for the completion of the event, they wished to spread the mischiefs accompanying it to England, in order to profit by them. Hence their proceedings in the Revolution Society, and on the 14th of July; and hence their zealous support of Libels and Libellers.

Almost all the answers to Mr. Burke's intemperate and injudicious publication have received their active support and countenance; but none more than the libel of Paine. It is written in the spirit of partisan malignity, and the language is the familiar, indecent slang of the conventicle. They read with avidity the indecent abuse of royalty, rank, and order; and they open subscriptions in several parts of the country, to assist in diffusing the poison.

In the Society impudently calling itself *Constitutional*, they are the active members; and here they scruple not to associate with men of the known principles and characters of Richard Brinsley Sheridan and of John Horne Tooke. They adopt and assist the projects of the latter, though their avowed  
object

object is the revenge of his private disappointments : for Horne Tooke has flattered Lord Lansdowne, the Americans, Mrs. Fitzherbert, Mr. Pitt, and the French National Assembly ; but he has made no impression to his own profit on any mind but that of old William Tooke, who must compensate to him the wrongs and disappointments of which he so frequently and bitterly complains. There is no mischief for which this man is not ready, indeed he declares himself so ; and watches occasions to produce disturbance and commotion. It is fortunate, that his credit with the people is very low ; but it is disgraceful to the Dissenters to employ such an instrument.

In the advertisements, puffs, and stratagems, to diffuse the inflammatory farrago of Paine, Horne Tooke has been much employed. Indeed, he considers it as partly his own ; as he is said to have corrected some of the numerous offences against grammar with which it abounded, and to have given point to some of the Billingsgate Oratory from which alone any effect from it is hoped.



This having failed, and the libel sinking fast into oblivion and contempt, the next project is for the ensuing 14th of July, when the new sect of the Catholic Dissenters are invited to join the Puritanic; and if a sect of infernals could be obtained they would also be invited. Rejoicing in the Liberty of France is the pretence, but confusion and mischiefs are the objects.

It is hoped the *good People of England* will be warned against the incessant and unwearied machinations of these domestic foes.

We seem to be on the eve of a war, and it is not uncommon with them to take the part of the public enemy. They adopted all the views of Americans, from pretence of regard to liberty, but from a real desire to harass government. They have sought in every part of the French Revolution some occasion to disturb the peace of England; and in a few months we may possibly see them in the interest of the Empress of Russia.

Let no such men be heeded. Englishmen can judge of their situation and interests,

rests, without the new lights of disaffected sectaries, without the information of American crimps, or the plausible conceits of philosophic Atheists. Let them consult their reason and their religion, and they will learn to value their peculiar privileges ; to be thankful to God for them ; to improve them to the best purposes ; to correct any abuses that may have taken place in them ; and to transmit them unimpaired to their posterity.

THE END.

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